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non-Magyar minorities. Thus in a parliament that as late as 1910 represented scarcely more than one quarter of the adult male population, the Magyars who numbered just over one half the population, apart from Croatia, had 405 seats to 8 for the Slovak and Rumanian minorities. The Croatians were represented by 40 deputies when mutual Croatian-Hungarian affairs were under discussion. The Czechs and the Poles in the Austrian provinces developed an aristocratic form of local self-government in the latter half of the nineteenth century and contributed distinguished statesmen to the Austrian government, and at least the Czechs gained experience in the techniques and responsibilities of democracy in local government and in unofficial organizations. Similarly in the Polish-inhabited lands of the German and Russian empires, little opportunity was available for gaining experience in electoral and parliamentary procedures.

Educational opportunities in Eastern Europe were steadily improved in the century after 1815 despite frequently hostile government attitudes. The greatest progress in this field was made in the Czech-inhabited provinces of the Habsburg monarchy, where general compulsory education was introduced in 1869. In Hungary popular education was started somewhat later, and illiteracy among the Magyars declined rapidly. The schools, however, were used as a vehicle for the Magyarization of the non-Magyar minorities of Hungary and, as a consequence, the great majority of Slovak and Rumanian children were compelled to get their education in the Magyar language. In Hungary, discounting Croatia, there were four times as many Magyar-language schools as non-Magyar and five times as many Magyar schoolteachers. The Slovenes under Austrian rule and the autonomous Croatians fared a great deal better, while in independent Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, national school systems were developed insofar as meager resources permitted. The Poles fared differently in their three parts. In

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871 563 Austrian Galicia they underwent a great cultural revival in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and this was the only area in which schools and universities using the Polish language could develop freely. The Polish population in Prussia lived under better educational conditions than did their co-nationals in Russia, but in both countries they were subjected to vigorous programs of denationalization.

871 212 The state of popular education in Eastern Europe is revealed by illiteracy figures for the years 1920-21, before the new independent states had exerted an influence on education. The rate of illiteracy for males and females of school age and over was 7 per cent for Czechoslovakia, 15 per cent for Hungary, and between 30 and 40 per cent for Poland and Yugoslavia. The rate was between 40 and 50 per cent for Rumania and Bulgaria, and in Albania it was much higher. These figures may be compared with illiteracy rates of under 1 per cent for Great Britain and Germany, 6 per cent for the United States, and about 50 per cent for Russia.

[873] It is worth noting that the low level of literacy in most of Eastern Europe did not prevent the development of a high level of culture among educated persons. The universities of Prague, Cracow, and Budapest were the most distinguished among many of high level, and very significant contributions to European culture in the arts and sciences came from this region. The "intelligentsia," as those with higher education and professional skills were referred to, provided both the leadership of the national movements and the statesmen of the nations born at the end of the First World War. As individuals they were the equals of the political leaders of the great powers and included in their number many great Europeans.

566 423 178 Agricultural improvement, or the increase in productivity and in the welfare of the population dependent on agriculture, is a complex process. In Eastern Europe, it involved in particular the release of the peasants from feudal

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practice, church organizations and the clergy are meant to have no function but that of a helpful tool in the communization of the nation.

The function of education is the same. The Communists do not even pretend to support freedom of knowledge and bluntly state in their legislation that the duty of higher schools is to educate the younger generation in the spirit of socialist dialectics and materialistic doctrines. Theoretically, the Communist system assures the youth of education. In practice, an individual's right to education is not determined by intellectual ability and progress but by membership in the Young Communist League (Komsomol), by informing on "unorthodox" professors, and by success in examinations on Communist politics and doctrines.

The articles of the Communist constitutions that deal with the rights of the citizens stress above all the rights to work, rest, and medical treatment. The Communist attitude toward the individual is like that of the horse-owner when he thinks that the main duty of his animal is to work and believes that it must be assured of rest and medical treatment only to insure the fulfillment of this duty. Actually, most farmers in the free countries treat their animals better than the Communists treat the people. Out of hatred, the Communists destroy whole social groups and even perpetrate the genocide of whole nations.

The Communists claimed that when they had freed the working man from capitalist exploitation they would not allow the exploitation of one man by another. Is this claim realized in practice? Again, the answer is no. The Communist state created the worst kind of exploitation by giving the rule of the people to the Communist elite and by providing this elite with the formidable weapons of both police and army. In a democratic state, even where large industries and sources of raw materials are nationalized, the interests of the people are guarded by trade unions, politi-

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come. Once again, Czechoslovakia headed the list with 5.5 per cent while the Balkan countries devoted only 1.5 per cent of their national income to social services. In the same year the number of persons registered as unemployed in the various countries was as follows: Czechoslovakia, 408,000; Poland, 347,000; Hungary, 47,000; Yugoslavia, 21,600; and Rumania, 10,800.

A major consequence of industrialization and urbanization was the rapid growth both of an urban proletariat and of the bureaucracy. Those people who had been separated from their ancestral rural surroundings and traditions and often from the influence of their families became increasingly detached from spiritual matters and turned more and more towards materialistic and technical spheres. The number of bureaucrats grew rapidly and this resulted in political favoritism and in desk-level programs which very seldom touched the people of the countryside.

It cannot be said, however, that no progress was made or that standards of living were consistently low. It must be remembered that it was not until the First World War that many of these countries attained independence. A part of Poland had just emerged from Russian domination and certain areas of the Balkan states had just freed themselves from Ottoman rule. Even Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, and parts of Poland had been freed only recently from Austro-German political and economic controls. Under these circumstances, the progress made by these countries, notwithstanding failures and mistakes, was considerable indeed.

III

The states that had dominated this region before the First World War—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman empire—showed little interest in improving the educational standards of the large masses in Eastern Europe.

871 Illiteracy in the prewar era was extremely prevalent except in
212 Bohemia, Slovenia, a part of Hungary, and the formerly German-ruled section of Poland. Following the various educational reforms and the expansion of facilities during the '20's, the illiteracy rates were: 31.4 per cent (1934) for Bulgaria, 4.1 per cent (1930) for Czechoslovakia, 6.0 per cent (1941) for Hungary, 23.1 per cent (1931) for Poland, 23.1 per cent (1948) for Rumania, and 45.2 per cent (1931) for Yugoslavia. In spite of the notable progress attained within a decade and a half of liberation, the problem of achieving literacy and education for the masses remained a considerable one.

658 In the interwar period, a vast number of schools were built and many universities were founded or enlarged. National statistics show that on the average 3 per cent of the estimated national incomes was devoted to education for the region as a whole. Czechoslovakia, with 3.5 per cent, had the largest budgetary provision for education, spending in 1937 the
871 equivalent of eighty-four million dollars. Universal compulsory elementary education was introduced widely in this area. However, the number and quality of teachers did not increase
[565] as rapidly as did the buildings. Therefore, especially in the eastern and southern regions, semieducated or semiskilled individuals were numerous, and anyone who had been exposed to education considered himself an "intellectual." Under such circumstances, this term very often stood for mere prestige, and the "intellectuals" exerted influence out of proportion to their training. A poor system of communication, a dispersed settlement pattern, mediocre teachers and, last but not least, the rather uncooperative behavior of the peasants impeded the possibilities of an adequate education for the peasant class, which represented the majority of Eastern Europe's population.

000 Due to the prevalence of a liberalism linked with national-

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Due to the prevalence of a liberalism linked with national- 186
ism, studies concentrated on history, which was generally 871 •
given a romantic interpretation. The study of geography was 814
heavily larded with political convictions and misinterpretations of ethnography. Although the universities of Czechoslovakia and Hungary were on a high academic level at a time when other universities were just becoming active, their students spent too much time in petty politics. Most of the 186 668
student organizations supported some political person or party and, as a consequence, were strongly influenced by demagogues. The Polish and Rumanian universities especially were exploited by politicians, and often even by the police, for political purposes. Frequent political meetings aroused a discontented idealism and produced only too often regrettable chauvinistic or antisemitic behavior.

Anti-Semitism became a common denominator with which 798
Hitler was able to unite the rising youth and the politicians of Eastern Europe. The responsibility for this state of affairs lay with the governments and the ruling groups.

Although the new boundaries had been drawn on the 563
principle of national self-determination, the mixture of nationalities in many areas, as well as historical and geographical factors, had resulted in the inclusion of important minorities within the new states. These minorities were fragments of peoples rather than whole nations as had been the case before the war and, since they were in many cases unwilling citizens of the new states, their presence constituted a grave problem. The eight million inhabitants of Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia that spoke Russian, Ukrainian (Ruthenian), and White Russian as their mother tongue, the almost six million German-speaking citizens of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, and the almost three million Hungarian-speaking inhabitants of neighboring Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—these represented the most important, but by no means all, the minority

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visions were included in the peace treaties with Hungary and Bulgaria, and the states that had been created or enlarged as a result of the war assumed similar obligations. The provisions for the protection of minorities were concerned with the use of language in schools and courts, the practice of religion, and the equitable administration of social security. Their implementation by the respective governments was supervised by a Minorities Commission in the League of Nations, and a system of petitions was established for bringing injustices to the attention of the League. Although the principles underlying this system represented a great advance over pre-war practice, the efforts at implementation failed to meet the needs of the situation. In many cases the minorities continued to be discriminated against, and even when they were not, nationalist movements sponsored by neighboring countries often proved irresistible. As a result, the problem of minorities became one of the fundamental sources of political instability in Eastern Europe.

Another unfavorable factor was that richer families sent their children to foreign universities, especially to France, Germany, and Great Britain, while there was little student exchange among the Eastern European countries themselves. Educated people knew a great deal about Western Europe, but much less about neighboring states and peoples. Naturally, this was even more so among nations which had been enemies in the First World War and which now fiercely condemned their citizens if they praised the culture or progress of a former enemy. However, this situation was not unique to this region. It was characteristic of Europe as a whole and, like the development of nationalism and industry, moved from West to East.

Many of Eastern Europe's difficulties stemmed from the instability of its political life. Governments changed constantly and political parties fought each other to the last breath. Due to the many changes of government, an unwhole-

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more of them survive infancy. In consequence, if rather fragmentary national statistics are to be believed, the rate of increase in population has risen to what it was a generation before. Roughly speaking, the number of Hungarians has been increasing annually by 60,000, that of Czechs and Slovaks (mainly Slovaks) by 140,000, that of Yugoslavs by 180,000, and that of Poles by over 400,000. Whether this trend will continue for a long time, no one can say.

The second point of the program in respect to youth is an all-out attack on illiteracy. Before the war, the area as such was making rapid progress in schooling, and in its western part illiteracy was no longer known. In its eastern and southeastern regions, however, there were still large residues of illiteracy in the adult population and, in spite of compulsory elementary education, there were not enough schools in some rural districts. The result was that some children never went to school. The Communist regimes claim that they have done away with a large proportion of illiteracy among adults and even elderly people, and that illiteracy as a condition is gone forever. There is no way of checking this assertion but it is likely that it is correct. The obvious comment is that the more literate people there are, the stronger a weapon Communist printed propaganda will be. Thus, the new schools behind the Iron Curtain are but the first installment of a vast campaign of propaganda and indoctrination.

The third and, in a sense, the most important point of the program is the great effort of the Communist regimes to promote professional and technical education on secondary and academic levels. The fulfillment of the long-range economic plans depends, in the last analysis, on its cadres, that is, on its trained personnel. To use a Communist simile, the new industrial army, millions strong, needs hundreds of thousands of noncommissioned and commissioned officers. These men and women are being graduated all over the captive area from technical schools of every description. The numbers